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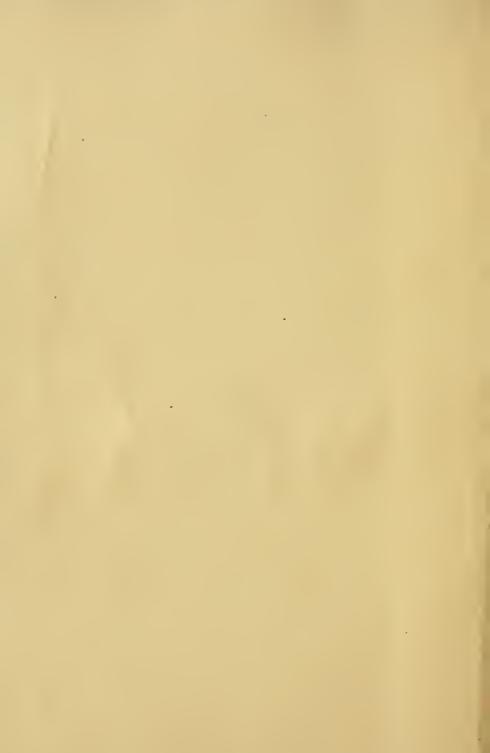
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The 54 January January

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Faith

An Address Delivered Before Several Colle

BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

NEW YORK AND LONDON

1912

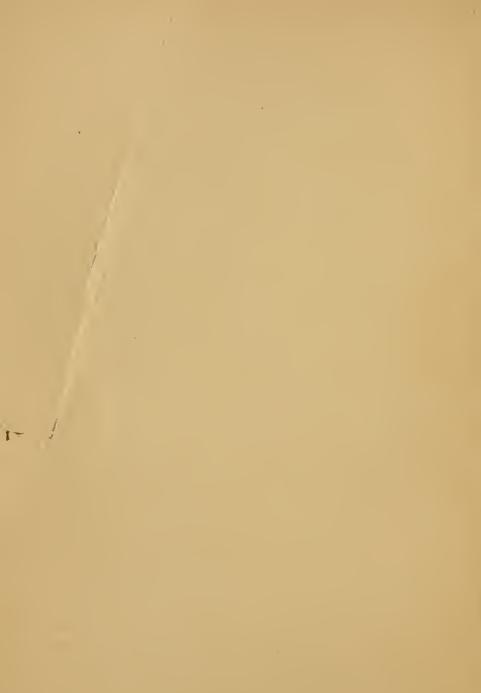
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THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES



THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES

HAD a double object in select-I ing this theme and in preparing this address. My first desire was to encourage reformers and my second was to stimulate to activity those who have not heretofore been interested in reforms. But the word "reform" is not used in any narrow or restricted sense; it is not confined to political reforms. Reform is change for the better, and a reformer is one who is trying to improve conditions. When the word "reformer" is thus defined I can assume that all who honor me by their presence are reformers,

that is, are interested in some, if not in many, reforms, and manifest a degree of zeal in securing them. There are, in fact, but three classes of people who are not reformers and it would be a reflection upon you to assume that you are in any one of the three classes.

The first class contains those who lack intelligence—who do not know that there are wrongs to be righted and abuses to be removed. In the second class will be found those who know that reform is possible but who are so hard hearted and indifferent to the welfare of their fellows that they do not desire the reforms secured. The third and last class is made up of those who have a pecuniary interest in existing

abuses—who have their hands in other people's pockets and do not want to be disturbed. I shall count you all, therefore, as reformers and shall address you as such.

The reformer has many difficulties to encounter, but I shall only mention two at this time. The first is the difference in the degree of in terest which people feel in reforms. Reformers vary all the way from just above freezing up to boiling point. When a reformer is just above freezing he must be handled very tenderly, for, with a little drop in the temperature, he is out of the class; but when he is at boiling point he is at work. One of the chief purposes of speaking on reforms is to raise the temperature and to put the

reformer to work among his fellows. It is easier to increase the zeal of one who believes in a reform than it is to convert one to a reform who is really against it just as in political campaigns it is easier to get out the vote than it is to convert men to the party.

The second difficulty is even greater, viz: the difficulty in securing coöperation between reformers. If I were to select from the audience ten persons, recommended to me as the most advanced reformers of your community, and found upon inquiry that the ten agreed upon the desirability of ten reforms, not half of them would agree as to which reform is most important and probably no two would agree as to

the relative importance of the ten reforms. Because a reformer is honest he is apt to be obstinate, and because he is conscious that he is disinterested he is not prone to compromise. No one who has ever tried to bring reformers together or to keep them together will fail to appreciate an illustration used by a Kansas Congressman twenty years ago. He said that down upon the plains of Brazil there were little burros that ran wild and that when attacked by ferocious animals they would by instinct put their heads together and their heels outward in a circle and all kick the enemy. Reformers, he added, did not always act with that intelligence but, instead, would too often put their

heads to the enemy and kick each other. This difficulty in getting reformers to act together seriously delays reforms.

Some reformers, and honest men too, become so interested in one reform that they will not participate in the securing of others which they regard of less importance; and some, honest people, too, when they find what they regard as a panacea, not only refuse to aid in the bringing of other reforms but, when their reform is rejected, desire conditions to become worse and worse and worse—and even help to make them worse—in the hope that the people will at last in desperation accept what they now reject. I am not willing to endorse this philosophy.

I am not willing to help to make any condition worse no matter how sure I may be that out of that worse condition good may finally come. Human judgment is not sufficiently unerring to enable us to measure with certainty the result of the acts of others or even the result of our own actions. I am restrained by the fear that if I help to make a condition worse I may not afterwards be able to make it better. I have put my theory into the form of an illustration; if I ever get it into my head that I can raise a man from the dead, I shall not kill a man in order to experiment with him—I shall try it upon a dead man.

I believe that this illustration fits the case. We are constantly called

upon to decide whether we will assist in securing some minor reform or refuse to assist in the hope that an accumulating demand will bring some greater reform. I believe that it is the part of wisdom for those who can agree upon the desirability of any reform, however unimportant it may seem, to join together where possible and secure it and then begin immediately on the next reform in sight. I believe that God has so made this world that no good thing secured today will prevent the securing of some other good thing tomorrow. In fact, we often find that a reform which, at the time, seemed unimportant proves to be a necessary stepping stone to some larger reform.

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But I am not here to advocate any particular reform. As I stated in the beginning, my purpose is to encourage reforms and to arouse the indifferent to activity. And reformers need encouragement. When one sees an evil clearly he wonders why all do not see it; when he finds a remedy that seems sufficient he wonders why all do not accept it. As great reforms come slowly it is not strange that those who labor earnestly should sometimes become discouraged when they see their hopes deferred. The great reformers of history have had their hours of darkness and of doubt. Elijah, that brave prophet of the early day, who had the courage to stand before kings and to rebuke wickedness in

high places-even Elijah was faint of heart when he was fleeing before the wrath of a wicked woman and thought that all the other prophets of the Lord had been put to death. It was not until Jehovah assured him that seven thousand had not bowed the knee to Baal that his faith revived. Peter the Hermit, whose zeal and eloquence stirred a continent to a crusade, was at times on the verge of despair. I come to you with a message of encouragement; God is still on His Throne and the world moves forward! No matter along what line you have labored; no matter whether the movement which enlisted your heart's interest is local, state, national or world-wide there is an arm back of every right-

eous cause—an arm strong enough to give victory to Truth.

I shall only bring before you three lines of progress, progress in intelligence, in morals and in the science of government; but these lines are so important that there is no excuse for pessimism if progress along these lines can be shown. And it is not difficult to support the propositions advanced; my embarrassment is not to find evidence of progress —it is rather to find time in which to present all that might be brought forward.

Let us begin with the world's advance in intelligence. Every year finds a larger percentage of the people of the world able to read and write—able to study history, and,

knowing the past, judge the future; every year finds more schools, more students in attendance and a higher standard of education. And this is not true today only, but every day; not in one place only, but everywhere.

Illustrations might be drawn from every land but a few must suffice. Fifty years ago comparatively few of the people of Japan could read and write; now they boast that ninety per cent of the rising generation can read and write, and the study of the English language is so universal in the higher schools that you can address the students in our language without the aid of an interpreter.

A few years ago China had only

private schools and not many attended them; now public schools are springing up all over the land. Yuan-Shi-Kai, with whose name you have become familiar, boasted six years ago that he had established four thousand public schools in his district during the preceding five years.

In the Philippine Islands the desire for education is so universal that many parents attend schools with their children—in one district the attendance rose from this cause to fifty per cent above what the school census would indicate.

Education is very backward in India, less than one per cent of the women are able to read and write and less than eight per cent of the

total population, but the desire for education is so widespread that every meeting of the native congress demands larger educational opportunities. When a few years ago the people of India reached the conclusion that the Viceroy was not sufficiently encouraging higher education they raised money by private subscription and sent young men to study in the colleges of other lands. While in Calcutta we attended a farewell reception given to fortyfour of these students.

In Africa seventeen thousand students, ten thousand boys and seven thousand girls, are attending schools and colleges established by missionaries, not to speak of an increasing number attending the government schools.

In Turkey what is known as the Young Turk movement is largely the outgrowth of educational work done in the Sultan's Empire.

In Russia twice as large a percentage of the present generation as of the last can read and write and the Czar insists that, judging by the statistics furnished by enlistments in the army, the percentage of illiteracy is decreasing at the rate of one per cent a year. So much for the Old World.

The same rule prevails in the Western Hemisphere. In Canada on the north, in every state in our Union and in the Spanish speaking republics on the south there is everywhere progress in education. In Mexico the increase in some of the

states amounts to one hundred per cent in schools and attendance in ten years.

In Peru we found a group of American teachers who are in the country by invitation of the Government and draw salaries from the public treasury; their work is to help bring the school system of Peru more in harmony with ours.

Uruguay has a school system identical with ours, the result of a visit paid by one of that country to this country many years ago.

At La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, there is an American College, established a few years ago at the request of the Government, which is supported largely by government appropriations; among the students

are children of the higher officials. And so I might continue, but enough evidence has been produced to show the universality of the rule.

At Lima, Peru, there is an institution of learning, established more than fifty years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, which in its history illustrates the trend toward democracy in education. During its earlier years it was an aristocratic institution; it cost ten thousand dollars to secure a diploma. In addition to proficiency in his studies a graduate was compelled to finance a bull fight and give a public dinner. This requirement continued until 1740 when a law substituted a deposit of two thousand dollars for the expense of the bull fight and the

dinner. This measure remained upon the statute books until 1870 when the deposit was reduced to eight hundred dollars. During the last forty-two years reduction after reduction has been made until now it costs but one hundred dollars to secure one degree and fifty dollars another. This illustrates what is going on not only in Peru and South America but throughout the world. Only a few generations ago the best people thought that God never intended the masses to be educated, but now we say that when God gave brains to all he gave the best possible proof of his desire that all should enjoy the benefits of mental discipline. None of us think ourselves wise enough to draw a line

through Society and to say that the children on one side should be educated and the children on the other side condemned to the night of ignorance. The American ideal is that there shall be an open school door in front of every child and that every child shall be urged to make the largest possible use of these educational opportunities. This is not only the American ideal but it is the ideal toward which the whole world is moving, our nation leading the way. We have such faith in the value of education, as shown by the fact that we desire it for ourselves and provide it for those about us, that if there were no other sign of progress this advance in education throughout the world would in itself

make the future bright with hope. But it would be of doubtful advantage to educate men and make their minds stronger—stronger for harm as well as for good—if we were not putting back of those stronger minds a heart development that would assure Society that this larger mental power would be employed for the advancement of the common weal.

I come, therefore, to the second branch of my subject and assert that the world's progress in morals is equal to its progress in intelligence. In fact, if I were called upon to decide the question I would be compelled to say that, just at this time, the evidence of a world wide moral awakening is even more abundant

than the evidence of a universal advance in education. Some fourteen years ago the great Frenchman, Dumas fils, wrote a remarkable letter in which he said that he thought he saw the signs of the coming of an era of brotherhood. Man, he declared, was about to love his fellowman with a passion that he had never known before. Two years after this letter was written, Tolstoi read it and declared that he, too, saw the signs of the coming of this era of brotherhood. Even earlier than either of these, England's great Commoner perceived it. Gladstone, in one of his most memorable speeches, said that a profound and mysterious movement was visible throughout the world

drawing mankind nearer together. What these wise men foresaw and foretold is not merely coming, it is here. The era of brotherhood is upon us. There is a better understanding of brotherhood today than there ever has been before; more of a sense of kinship among men. There is more altruism on earth than the earth has previously known and more in the United States than in any other country in the world.

Let me bring to your attention just a few of the many organized efforts that are being made to lift the standard of morals. In this country something like a million men have, during the last ten years, been brought into Men's Clubs and Bible classes. After the individual

clubs had been organized in the various churches, national brotherhoods were formed. The Brotherhood of the church with which I am connected was organized less than five years ago; now nearly every great denomination has a national brotherhood and these organizations have, in turn, been federated under inter-denominational committees. We have great organizations, like the Christian Endeavor Society, for instance, with four million members-more than one-third of them added within the last four years; we have the Epworth League, the Baraca Society and numerous others. And then we have the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian

Association, the latter with a million members, half of them in the United States. You may be interested to know that the amount expended through the Y. M. C. A. in this country each year is more than twice as large as the total amount expended by the committees of the two leading parties in the last presidential campaign of 1908, and, as a presidential campaign comes once in four years, this means that the annual expenditures of the Y. M. C. A. during a period of four years are eight times as great as the amount expended in National politics. In the Catholic Church there is a great organization, the Knights of Columbus, which is less than half as old as the Y. M. C. A., and

has more than half as many members in the United States. Outside of the churches there are organizations ethical in character like Hull House in Chicago, established by Jane Addams twenty-two years ago; there are now nearly six hundred institutions of this character in the United States. Besides these, there are the fraternities, increasing in number and in membership, and every one is preaching the doctrine of brotherhood.

But let us go outside of our own country. In every nation with any degree of civilization an awakened conscience is addressing itself to some ethical question. In China the opium traffic has been the absorbing issue, but now at an enormous sac-

tifice in national revenue the fight is about won and war has been declared against gambling, China's second vice.

In most of the countries of Europe the liquor question is the paramount moral issue. In Ireland two years ago I met the founder of the Catch My Pal Society. It began with a meeting between a minister and five drunken men on the street during which one of the men asked the minister to get the other four to sign the pledge. He invited them to come to his house when they were sober and sign the pledge; they accepted the invitation and after signing went out and brought back five more, each one his pal. When the second five had signed the ten

brought in ten more and the twenty organized the society. It has since reached a membership of one hundred and twenty thousand and has changed the habits of entire communities. A Belfast lady told me a story to illustrate the outgrowth of the work of this organization. Many drunkards were reformed and the minister speaking to the wife of one of these said, "Your home life must be much more pleasant now since your husband has quit drinking." "Oh, yes," she replied, "yes, he is more like a friend now than a husband."

France, one of the great wine producing countries of the world, has, through her government, decided to teach in the schools the effect of al-

cohol upon the system, a work commenced in this country many years ago under the leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

But the most important item of news on the subject of temperance comes from Germany. Something over a year ago Emperor Wilhelm, speaking to the naval cadets at Mirwig, told them that in crises that might arise the country must depend upon them, but that it could not do so unless their brains were clear and their nerves steady. And then he warned them that alcohol would rob their brains of clearness. and their nerves of steadiness and, in the name of the Fatherland, appealed to them to join total absti-

nence societies and held up for their inspiration the total abstinence societies of the British Navy. When I read this appeal from the Emperor of Germany to the young men of his country I asked myself: may we not appeal to the young men of our country to abstain from the use of alcohol, that their brains may be clear and their nerves steady for the battles of peace and progress that lie before us?

But there is another phase of this moral awakening to which I must call your attention, namely, the change in the point of view from which men are considering public questions. Sixteen years ago those most active in behalf of reforms were, for the most part, men who felt

an immediate pecuniary need of remedial legislation. This deep personal interest was manifested everywhere and it is not strange; we were then at the end of an era of falling prices. For nearly a quarter of a century the dollar had been rising in its purchasing power and the price level falling; for nearly twenty-five years the money owner and the money changer had been drawing in an unearned increment and the world was being forced into bankruptcy. It was not a national peril only but a menace to the world. Three times the leading nations had joined in great conferences, everybody everywhere admitting the seriousness of the situation, the only question being How shall we es-

cape? That was the situation then; now it is all changed. An unprecedented increase in the production of precious metal has made such an enormous addition to the world's volume of standard money that conditions are now reversed. The purchasing power of the dollar instead of rising is falling; the price level instead of falling is rising; the world instead of going in bankruptcy is coming out. If you are paying a debt contracted sixteen years ago you are paying it in dollars that will not, on the average, purchase more than two-thirds as much as the dollars that you borrowed. With this relief from the grinding process there has come an independence that was not then known-that was scarcely then possible.

You will find in every party, in every section of the country and in every civilized nation representatives of this growing group-men who are not looking at questions from the standpoint of personal interest but from the larger standpoint of the public weal-men who have learned that the highest satisfaction that life can give is not to be found in the counting of dollars, nor yet in the pleasures of society but only in the consciousness of a real service rendered to the world.

The political independence which we see in this country today is largely the outgrowth of this moral awakening. Men do not believe less in parties than they used to but they are more strongly impelled than for-

merly to regard the party as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. They are coming to believe that the best service that one can render to his party is not to allow the party to sacrifice the permanent welfare of the country to the temporary interests of a party organization.

To this growing group of disinterested patriots I look for large labor in the work that lies before us. Nor is it entirely a matter for the future; we are already enjoying the fruits of their toil. If you ask me to name the one factor which more than any other accounts for the world-wide revolution of which we are now a part, I reply that it is this moral awakening—this stirring of

the conscience of the world. The conscience is the most potent force of which we have knowledge. Tell me that it is law that makes men honest! For one man made honest by law a hundred are made honest by conscience. Tell me that it is fear of prison walls that keeps men in the path of rectitude! For one man kept in the narrow way by fear of prison walls a multitude are restrained from wrong doing by those invisible walls that conscience rears about us-walls that are stronger than the walls of stone.

I now come to the third proposition, namely: that the world's advance in the science of government is as great as its advance in education and in morals; and it would be

strange if with a larger intelligence there were not a better understanding of the theory of government, and it would be mortifying to us if, with a better understanding of government, there were not a larger faith in the principles of popular government. And it would be strange, too, if, with a growing conception of brotherhood, there were not a clearer recognition of the rights of man.

A century ago Jefferson said that there were just two parties in every country and that wherever speech was free these two parties would manifest themselves. He described them, not by party names, but by words that permanently symbolize the opposing spirits that animate parties. One he described as an

Aristocratic Party that would naturally draw to itself those who do not believe in the people and who do not trust them, and the other as a Democratic Party that would naturally draw to itself those who do believe in the people and do trust them. Jefferson, with that wisdom that put him in a class by himself among statesmen, thus drew the only line that can be drawn always and everywhere through Society, the line that separated the man who is at heart a democrat from the man who is at heart an aristocrat. He understood as every statesman has whose name has survived his generation that these two parties are in constant conflict, the party democratic in spirit trying to bring the govern-

ment nearer to the people, the party aristocratic in spirit endeavoring to obstruct every step toward popular government. With a century of history to support the proposition I affirm that the party of the people is the growing party everywhere, and that the party of the aristocracy is the dying party the world around.

If time permitted illustrations could be drawn from every land, but I shall only ask your attention to five and those relate to victories won for popular government within the last seven years.

First, we have Russia, whose name has been a synonym for despotism; after infinite suffering and sacrifice her people at last secured a Douma. The first and second Doumas were

dissolved and suffrage was withdrawn from more than nine million voters in an effort to secure a conservative legislative body. But even the third Douma refused to write the word "autocrat" after the name of the Czar and its first important measure provided that there should be schools enough for all the children in Russia.

Within seven years Russia has secured a constitution, and during that period Turkey has secured both a constitution and a representative body.

Within seven years the Dowager Empress of China began to lay the foundations of a constitutional monarchy but the government did not go fast enough for the people

and we have seen four hundred millions of Chinese driving the Manchu rulers from the throne and organizing a republic, a republic whose chief executive, taking a title like that of our own, is called the President of the United States of China.

But it is not among the backward nations alone that Democracy has won its victories. The people have won two great victories in Great Britain within three years. The first was in the matter of taxation. The voters, speaking through the House of Commons, compelled the House of Lords to consent to a budget which appropriated a part of the unearned increment of the landlords. And then the House of Commons challenged the House of Lords to

mortal combat on one of the most fundamental governmental propositions, namely, that hereafter the people should speak, not through an hereditary body, but only through those whom they elected to power. When the peers resisted the measure the King listened to the people's plea and forced the House of Lords to consent to the abridgment of its powers demanded by the voters, and hereafter that body cannot for a longer period than two years obstruct a measure that has passed the House of Commons. And when the House of Lords of Great Britain, the most ancient and illustrious of all the hereditary bodies on the earth, bowed before the onsweeping tide of democracy that rolls around the

world—then came the beginning of the end of hereditary rule.

This is what the world has been doing outside of the United States, and while other nations have been marching at doublequick toward governmental forms more responsive to the people's will, we have been keeping step. Nowhere on God's footstool has faith in the people grown more or been more emphatically expressed than in our own beloved land.

The first illustration of this is in the triumph of the movement that has for its object the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people. The struggle has lasted for two decades but the victory is won. The Senate was at last

compelled to yield to the people's demand and the states now have an opportunity to ratify the amendment which makes the United States Senate a popular body, and it will be the people's fault if it does not become the greatest legislative body of the world—a body to which those may aspire who in less important positions have demonstrated a capacity for governmental affairs and proven their fidelity to the people's interests.

While the people have been winning this victory they have also been improving their election laws so as to guarantee to each voter the right to make his ballot represent a freeman's will, and they have at the same time been substituting the primary for the boss-ridden convention.

Our primary laws are experimental and are not free from defects, but we shall learn their faults by experience and remedy them in wisdom. We shall not go back to the old system; on the contrary we shall move forward, and before another presidential campaign rolls around so many of our states will have provided for the presidential primary that our presidents hereafter will be nominated, not by a few leaders in a convention, but by the people at home, and, being thus indebted to the whole people for their elevation to the presidency, they will be the servants of the whole people while in office.

The purification of politics has kept pace with the reforms already

mentioned. A few years ago a great Senator declared that purity in politics was an iridescent dream. That was back in the days when Wall street nominated both candidates, financed both campaigns, took a mortgage on both administrations and then said: "They are both good men; no matter which wins, the people lose." But when the voters learned where the money came from and why it was given they demanded a remedy and a law was passed making it a criminal offense for any corporation to contribute to a national campaign fund. This was a great step in advance but it was not enough. Then came the demand for publicity as to individual contributions and we secured, first, a law re-

quiring publicity after the election and, later, a law requiring publicity before the election. But even this was not all that was needed and the House of Representatives has gone three steps further in the matter of publicity. The first asks the President to make public the recommendations, written and verbal, upon which he appoints United States judges; the second extends the publicity law to the period before the conventions in order that the public may know what contributions are made to secure nominations; and the third, still more important, requires newspapers to tell their readers who own the papers. It is strange that we have been so slow in extending publicity to the newspaper, the agent

of publicity, but the people are aroused at last and it will not be long before the pure food law will be applied to our newspaper diet. Predatory interests will then be compelled to put the label "Poison" on their editorials when they purchase newspapers for the purpose of influencing public opinion.

We have made progress, too, in the matter of taxation and thirtyfour states have already ratified the amendment to the Constitution specifically authorizing the Income Tax. Many other illustrations might be presented but those which I have brought before you are sufficient to show, first, the trend of the world, and, second, our nation's leadership.

It only remains to impress upon your minds the responsibilities that attend that leadership. Our nation is as "a city set upon a hill," as "a light that cannot be hid." That which is done here is soon known everywhere and has its influence for weal or woe. Every reformer in Asia knows our Declaration of Independence by heart, understands our Constitution and follows our laws. In South America they watch our movements even more closely.

I shall not forget an experience that I had at San Paolo, Brazil. They have there a great normal school, built and conducted upon the plans taken by an American woman from New York. They are proud to acknowledge their indebtedness to

us; they showed me through the various rooms and then took me to the assembly hall where the students of the higher classes were gathered. Every seat was occupied, the aisles were full and young men stood back through the door into the outer hall. Over each window were two flags, the Brazilian flag and ours. A teacher speaking for the school delivered in English an address of welcome. He told how their Constitution was modeled after ours and how even their flag like ours had a star for every state. When he was through a young man, of twenty or twenty-one, spoke for the students. He also spoke in English and his voice trembled with emotion as he said that our Nation had been an in-

spiration to Brazil, and that it was their ambition to make Brazil like the United States. Then a young lady recited a poem in English, and then to my surprise the entire school rose and sang in English:

> My Country, 'tis of Thee, Sweet land of liberty; Of Thee I sing.

It was my time to speak. I told them that I had seen fulfilled there that day the dreams of our forefathers; that it was the desire of those who laid the foundation of our government that our nation should conquer the world, not with its arm, but with its ideas. I told them that our people would be happier to know that they sang our

songs and were grateful for our example—happier far than to have them as sullen subjects under a flag that they did not love.

What a glorious destiny God has reserved to our nation! What a privilege to be a citizen in a land that is the torch bearer among the nations, the pathfinder for the world! And with this privilege what a responsibility!

The question that I would burn into your minds and hearts and carry with me ever is this: the world is moving forward, our nation leading the way; it is moving forward in intelligence; have we done all in our power to advance the world's intelligence? It is moving forward in morals; have we done all in our

power to lift the moral standards of our communities, our states, our nation and the world? It is moving forward in the application of the principles of popular government to government; have we done all in our power to make our government each day more nearly a government of the people, by the people and for the people? And, if we have not lived up to our great opportunities and responsibilities, will we listen to the pleading voice that comes to us from the battlefield of Gettysburg? In that wonderful oration on that memorable occasion Lincoln referred to an unfinished task to which those there assembled should consecrate themselves. That task is still unfinished and we shall not do our full

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duty unless we highly resolve that whatever influence we have shall be so used in the solving of every problem as to maintain our nation's primacy among the nations and enable it to lead each generation to higher ground.

FAITH exerts a controlling influence over our lives. If it is argued that works are more important than faith, I reply that faith comes first, works afterwards. Until one believes, he does not act, and in accordance with his faith, so will be his deeds.

Abraham, called of God, went forth in faith to establish a race and a religion. As a result of his faith a race has been produced not surpassed in its achievements by any other race in history, and as a result of his faith nearly four hundred millions of human beings are adher-

ents of a monotheistic religion. It was faith that led Columbus to discover America, and faith again that conducted the early settlers to Jamestown, the Dutch to New York and the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock. Faith has led the pioneer across deserts and through trackless forests, and faith has brought others in his footsteps to lay in our land the foundations of a civilization the highest that the world has known.

I might draw an illustration from the life of each one of you. You have faith in education, and that faith is behind your study; you have faith in this institution, and that faith brought you here; your parents and friends have had faith in you and have helped you to your

present position. Without faith we are told it is impossible to please God, and I may add that without faith it is impossible to meet the expectations of those who are most interested in you. Let me present this subject under four heads:

First-You must have faith in yourselves. Not that you should carry confidence in yourselves to the point of displaying egotism, and yet, egotism is not the worst possible fault. My father was wont to say that if a man had the big head, you could whittle it down, but that if he had the little head, there was no hope for him. If you have the big head others will help you reduce it, but if you have the little head, they cannot help you. You must believe

that you can do things or you will not undertake them. Those who lack faith attempt nothing and therefore cannot possibly succeed; those with great faith attempt the seemingly impossible and by attempting prove what man *c* an do.

But you cannot have faith in yourselves unless you are conscious that you are prepared for your work. If one is feeble in body, he cannot have the confidence in his physical strength that the athlete has, and as physical strength is necessary, one is justified in devoting to exercise and to the strengthening of the body such time as may be necessary.

Intellectual training is also necessary, and more necessary than it used to be. When but few had the

advantages of a college education, the lack of such advantages was not so apparent. Now when so many of the lawyers, physicians, journalists, and even business men, are college graduates, one cannot afford to enter any field without the best possible intellectual preparation. When one comes into competition with his fellows, he soon recognizes his own intellectual superiority or inferiority as compared with others. In China they have a very interesting bird contest. The singing lark is the most popular bird there, and as you go along the streets of a Chinese city you see Chinamen out airing their birds. These singing larks are entered in contests, and the contests are decided by the birds themselves.

If, for instance, a dozen are entered, they all begin to sing lustily, but as they sing, one after another recognizes that it is outclassed and gets down off of its perch, puts its head under its wing and will not sing any more. At last there is just one bird left singing, and it sings with an enthusiasm that shows that it recognizes its victory. So it is in all intellectual contests. Put twenty men in a room and let them discuss any important question. At first all will take part in the discussion, but as the discussion proceeds, one after another drops out until finally two are left in debate, one on one side and one on the other. The rest are content to have their ideas presented by those who can present them best. If

you are going to have faith, therefore, in yourselves, you must be prepared to meet your competitors upon an equal plane, and if you are prepared, they will be conscious of it as well as you.

A high purpose is also a necessary part of your preparation. You can not afford to put a low purpose in competition with a high one. If you go out to work from a purely selfish standpoint, you will be ashamed to stand in the presence of those who have higher aims and nobler ambitions. Have faith in yourselves, but to have faith you must be prepared for your work, and this preparation must be moral and intellectual as well as physical.

Second—Have faith in mankind.

The great fault of our scholarship is that it is not sufficiently sympathetic. It holds itself aloof from the struggling masses. It is too often cold and cynical. It is better to trust your fellowmen and be occasionally deceived than to be distrustful and live alone. Mankind deserves to be trusted. There is something good in every one, and that good responds to sympathy. If you speak to the multitude and they do not respond, do not despise them, but rather examine what you have said. If you speak from your heart, you will speak to their hearts, and they can tell very quickly whether you are interested in them or simply in yourself. The heart of mankind is sound; the sense of justice is uni-

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versal. Trust it, appeal to it, do not violate it. People differ in race characteristics, in national traditions, in language, in ideas of government, and in forms of religion, but at heart they are very much alike. I fear the plutocracy of wealth; I respect the plutocracy of learning; I thank God for the democracy of the heart. You must love if you would be loved. "They loved Him because He first loved them"-this is the verdict pronounced where men have unselfishly labored for the welfare of the whole people. Link yourselves in sympathy with your fellowmen; mingle with them; know them and you will trust them and they will trust you. If you are stronger than others, bear heavier loads; if

you are more capable than others, show it by your willingness to perform a larger service.

Third-If you are going to accomplish anything in this country, you must have faith in our form of government, and there is every reason why you should have faith in it. It is the best form of government ever conceived by the mind of man, and it is spreading throughout the world. It is best, not because it is perfect, but because it can be made as perfect as the people deserve to have. It is a people's government, and it reflects the virtue and intelligence of the people. As the people make progress in virtue and in intelligence, the government ought to approach more and more nearly to

perfection. It will never, of course, be entirely free from faults, because it must be administered by human beings, and imperfection is to be expected in the work of human hands.

Jefferson said a century ago that there were naturally two parties in every country, one which drew to itself those who trusted the people, the other which as naturally drew to itself those who distrusted the people. That was true when Jefferson said it, and it is true today. In every country there is a party which is seeking to enlarge the participation of the people in government, and that party is the growing party. In every country there is a party which is endeavoring to obstruct

each step toward popular government, and it is the dying party. In this country the tendency is constantly toward more popular government, and every effort which has for its object the bringing of the government into closer touch with the people is sure of ultimate triumph.

Our form of government is good. Call it a democracy if you are a Democrat, or a republic if you are a Republican, but help to make it a government of the people, by the people and for the people. A democracy is wiser than an aristocracy because a democracy can draw from the wisdom of the people, and all of the people know more than any part of the people. A democ-

racy is stronger than a monarchy because, as the historian, Bancroft, has said: "It dares to discard the implements of terror and build its citadel in the hearts of men." And a democracy is the most just form of government because it is built upon the doctrine that men are created equal, that governments are instituted to protect the inalienable rights of the people and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We know that a grain of wheat planted in the ground will, under the influence of the sunshine and rain, send forth a blade, and then a stalk, and then the full head, because there is behind the grain of wheat a force irresistible and constantly at work.

There is behind moral and political truth a force equally irresistible and always operating, and just as we may expect the harvest in due season, we may be sure of the triumph of these eternal forces that make for man's uplifting. Have faith in your form of government, for it rests upon a growing idea, and if you will but attach yourself to that idea, you will grow with it.

But the subject presents itself in another aspect. You must not only have faith in yourselves, in humanity and in the form of government under which we live, but if you would do a great work, you must have faith in God. Do not call me a preacher, for I am but a layman; yet, I am not willing that the minis-

ter shall monopolize the blessings of Christianity, and I do not know of any moral precept binding upon the preacher behind the pulpit that is not binding upon the Christian whose acceptance would not be helpful to every one. I am not speaking from the minister's standpoint but from the observation of every-day life when I say that there is a wide difference between the desire to live so that men will applaud you and the desire to live so that God will be satisfied with you. Man needs the inner strength that comes from faith in God and belief in His constant presence.

Man needs faith in God, therefore, to strengthen him in his hours of trial, and he needs it to give him 69

courage to do the work of life. How can one fight for a principle unless he believes in the triumph of the right? How can he believe in the triumph of the right if he does not believe that God stands back of the truth and that God is able to bring victory to truth? The man of faith, believing that every word spoken for truth will have its influence and that no blow struck for righteousness is struck in vain, fights on without asking whether he is to fall in the beginning of the battle or live to join in the shouts of triumph. He knows not whether he is to live for the truth or to die for it, and if he has the faith he ought to have, he is as ready to die for it as to live for it.

Faith will not only give you strength when you fight for righteousness, but your faith will bring dismay to your enemies. There is power in the presence of an honest man who does right because it is right and dares to do the right in the face of all opposition. It is true today, and has been true through all history that "One with God shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."

If your preparation is complete so that you are conscious of your ability to do great things; if you have faith in your fellowmen and become a colaborer with them in the raising of the general level of society; if you have faith in our form of government and seek to purge it of its

imperfections so as to make it more and more acceptable to our own people and to the oppressed of other nations; and if, in addition, you have faith in God and in the triumph of right, no one can set limits to your achievements. This is the greatest of all the ages in which to live. The railroads and the telegraph wires have brought the corners of the earth close together, and it is easier today for one to be helpful to the whole world than it was a few centuries ago to be helpful to the inhabitants of a single valley. This is the age of great opportunity and of great responsibility. Let your faith be large, and let this large faith inspire you to perform a large service.

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